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1411 K Street, NW,

Suite 1002

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SECURITY AFFAIRS

YES THERE IS A "MORAL EQUIVALENCE"

by Jim Guirard, Jr.

Ed. Note: Mr. Guirard is a governmental affairs consultant and a frequent contributor to "Security Affairs".

The Reagan administration is much concerned about people who speak and act as though there were a "moral equivalence" between the United States and the Soviet Union. The President, Secretary of State George Schultz and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger have all addressed the subject in recent months.

Unfortunately, their worry is not farfetched. Last year, when the question "*Do you or do you not hold that the USSR and the United States are morally equivalent?*" was put to the Oxford (England) Student Union, the "nays" carried by only a slender margin.

The same would probably result from a poll of the leadership of certain radicalized churches, certain university faculties and certain elements of the media in this country — those who former US Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick has labeled the "Blame America First" crowd.

In fact, one prominent journalist refused last year even to participate in a conference co-sponsored by the state Department and the Shavano Institute, because he did not wish to lend his presence to a debate whose conclusion might be that such a moral equivalence did NOT exist between the US and the USSR.

In the minds and pronouncements of such people, the American and Soviet armed forces are equally militaristic and war-mongering. Our nuclear stockpiles are equally threatening. The CIA and KGB are equally sinister. The American liberation of Grenada is equated to the Soviet so-called "liberation" of Afghanistan. Any evil the Soviets do, America is alleged to have done as bad, or worse.

More than a few of these strange people go even one step farther. They speak of President Reagan as a "fascist" and of Fidel Castro as a "progressive leader" — which suggests that Castroite tyranny is morally SUPERIOR to American multi-party democracy.

Even the language of politics has turned to value-free terms — the "superpowers," the "East-West conflict". Such labels imply that there is minimal moral distinction between the defenders and the repressors of human rights and civil liberties in the world. Virtually forgotten are such powerful phrases as President John F. Kennedy used repeatedly to make the proper distinction — "the Free World versus the Communist World". Kennedy knew (and cared) what the Berlin Wall was all about. He knew (and cared) about what Fidel Castro had in mind for Central and Latin America.

Of course, there is a powerful moral equivalence afoot in the world of geopolitics. But it most certainly is not between communist tyranny and civil-libertarian democracy. It is between the mirror-image tyrannies of the "ultra-left"

(Leninism, Stalinism, Castroism) and the "ultra-right" (Nazism, fascism).

Many prominent liberal-intellectuals would (and do!) strongly protest the drawing of an equation between communism and fascism. Some have even branded President Reagan as evil for having dared to call the Soviet Empire "evil". Such people prefer to take comfort in the naive notion that the rulers of the Empire (Gorbachev, Castro, Mengistu, Qaddafi, Ortega, et al) really do go around promoting "liberation" and "social justice" and "people's democracy" in the world.

But there are other, more objective experts who have drawn precisely such an equation between the so-called "extremes" of the imagined left-right "political spectrum". Here is a sampling of their conclusions as to where the real moral equivalence in today's world lies:

SUSAN SONTAG (liberal-intellectual author and literary critic): "Not only is fascism (and overt military rule) the probable destiny of all communist societies — especially when their populations are moved to revolt — but communism is itself a variant, the most successful variant, of fascism."

ADOLF HITLER (National Socialist dictator of Germany): "The petit bourgeois Social Democrat and trade union boss will never make a National Socialist, but the

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communist always will... There is more that unites us than divides us from Bolshevism... above all the genuine revolutionary spirit."

SENATOR DANIEL MOYNIHAN (Democratic Senator from New York):

"The most brutal totalitarian regimes in the world call themselves 'liberation movements'... Yuri Andropov is 'a terrorist in a system sustained by terror'"

JOSEPH SOBRAN (conservative columnist): "On the subject of communism, history has spoken in a shrill monotone. Never mind the ideology: communism is as communism does. Like every other system, it deserves to be judged on its record, not its promises. That record is bloodier even than Nazism's."

ANDREI SAKHAROV (Russian dissident and Nobel Peace Prize winner, to Soviet officials at 1978 trial of fellow dissident Anatoly Scharansky): "You are not humans. You are fascists. Hear me, a member of the Academy of Sciences. You are FASCISTS."

BERNARD-HENRI LEVY (French intellectual of the "New Philosophers" movement): "I am the bastard child of an unholy union between fascism and Stalinism... The only revolution I know, the one which may grant notoriety to this century, is the Nazi plague and red fascism."

PROF. A. JAMES GREGOR (author of *The Fascist Persuasion in Radical Politics*, Princeton Univ. Press, 1974): "...fascist and communist regimes are subspecies of one and the same species... In substance, whatever distinctions there are between 'fascist' and 'communist' movements in terms of ideological commitments — they are singularly superficial."

HARRY S. TRUMAN (Former President of the United States): "There is no difference in totalitarian or police states, call them what you will: Nazi, fascist, communist or Argentine Republics."

There are, indeed, many "moral equivalents" in the world of international politics. But these are AMONG the various democratic systems, on the one hand, and AMONG the various despotisms, on the other.

Hitler and Stalin demonstrate the point to perfection. Following their infamous Friendship Pact of 1939-41 (which had been preceded by several years of secret collaboration) those two socialist monsters came to blows not because they were different but because they were inherently the same. The moral equivalence they shared was the brutal AMORALITY of tyrants bent on world domination. Finally, they fought each other to the death for the same reasons mad dogs or Mafia bosses do — for power, for total control.

As Susan Sontag has observed, "Communism is itself a variant, the most successful variant, of fascism." The sooner true liberals and true progressives recognize this fact, the sooner they will cease holding hands with the Gestapo-left.

Jim Guirard is a Washington lawyer/lobbyist. During 1981 he was National Affairs Director of the American Security Council Foundation. Previously, he served as AA to Democratic Senators Allen Ellender and Russell Long.

January 29, 1986

Bartmouth Review

Losing the Semantic War

by Jim Guirard

In a 1978 Senate speech, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan warned of the dangers of "semantic infiltration." He explained how simple words and phrases are used by Soviet propagandists — and parroted by naive Western leaders and journalists — to distort our thinking about the political systems which compete for our minds and loyalties.

Moynihan observed that such watchwords as "peace," "people," "democracy," and "liberation" were once democratic symbols "which the anti-democratic forces are somehow able to size." He condemned our failure to combat the communist rhetoric by which "the most brutal totalitarian regimes in the world call themselves 'liberation movements.'"

The Senator reminds us that words are the primary tools by which the mind operates. False words and concepts move men in false directions, distracting from the truth. Repeat the false word often enough, make certain the truthful alternative is never clearly perceived, and you are able to imprison people within their own minds.

According to political historian Robert Tucker, Soviet dictator Josef Stalin felt that "of all monopolies enjoyed by the state, none would be so crucial as its monopoly on the definition of words. The ultimate weapon of political control would be the dictionary." Let Stalin choose the words by which you think and Stalin will tell you what to think — or not to think.

Yet, the watchword factor remains so hidden, so subtle, that even such experts of Soviet disinformation as Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss overlooked it in their bestseller novel *"The Spike."* They failed to show how a news story too hot to be "spiked" — kept entirely out of the press — can be distorted by manipulation of a single theme word or phrase. For instance, referring to Marxist terrorists as "progressive forces" or as a "patriotic front" greatly legitimizes their cause.

Consider these further examples of the warped semantics which distort the psychology of our conflict with Marxism - Leninism:

★ Why do we foolishly refer to Soviet and Cuban imperialism by so positive a word as "adventure"?

★ In a world which despises colonialism, why do we call Soviet colonies "satellites" and "client states"?

★ Why not challenge the fraud by which one - party dictatorships call themselves "people's democracies"?

★ Why did we persist in referring to Iranian terrorists who kidnapped our diplomats as "students"?

★ Why do we label political prisoners in Poland by such neutral terms as "detainees" and "internees"?

The deception is endless: The military dictator of Poland is called a "martial law leader." One party communist police states are called "socialist," the same as multi - party civil - libertarian states as Sweden, France, Greece, etc. Dialectical materialists, who say there is no God or abstract morality, mask as "Christian Marxists." Slave laborers on the Siberian pipeline are euphemistically labeled "guest workers."

But perhaps the most obscene semantic perversion of all is the insidious lie hidden within the concept of ideological "far - left" vs. "far - right." Language conditions us to see conflicting ideologies in the left - right continuum. Thus, when we correctly recoil from the fascist evils of the ultra - right, we tend to slide mindlessly toward its apparent opposite, the ultra - left. Left is opposite right, *l'est pas*?

Such a windfall for communism: to be perceived by so many naive souls as a proper moral alternative to the fascism it really is. In light of this misperception, how can a self - respecting progressive rise up against what his vocabulary and his mind's eye tell him is the opposite, the enemy, of fascism? And why should civil - libertarians react against the threat of enemies so apparently unthreatening as "democratic" socialism, or "progressive" fronts, or "liberation" movements?

These same human rights advocates would surely answer a call to arms against the spectre of world fascism. After all, who but the most craven and pseudo of liberals would knowingly hold hands with fascists? The tragic irony is that so many honest liberals fail to realize that this is exactly what they are doing — however unintentionally.

Imagine what historic reversals an awakening to this unsavory fact might make in prevailing liberal attitudes on such divisive issues as Vietnam, Central America, draft registration, the CIA, defense spending, Radio Marti . . . On and on goes the list of issues over which so many "liberals" and "conservatives" fight each other tooth and nail, but on

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which they could easily become natural allies — if only they could agree on who the communists are and why they must be defeated.

In his famous 1978 speech at Harvard, Alexander Solzhenitsyn wondered why so many Americans seem to lack the willpower, the patriotic resolve and the spirit of sacrifice to oppose the Soviet plan for world domination. Such traits, he should have realized, must be rooted in a clear perception of what good it is we stand for and what evil it is we are supposed to be mobilizing against.

At present, perverted semantics tend to deny us this perception. We are confused not only about the identity and ambitions of our enemies but, even worse, about the propriety and justice of what we ourselves stand for.

Such national confusion and its noncommittant failure of national resolve expose us to terrible danger of which the great British philosopher Edmund Burke once warned: "All that is needed for the forces of evil to win is for enough good men to do nothing."

Dr. James Schlesinger may have described the dilemma best. Contending that while most people favor "good" and oppose "evil," they need to know which is which. They need to know "who the fellows are in the black hats." If we permit the communists to choose the words and images by which the distinction is made, it is obvious who will be wearing the black hat and who the halo.

Needed instead is a truth - in - labeling system which begins to pull down the semantic masks behind which the Gestapo - left has for so long hidden its ugly, soul - less face.

Perhaps then the truly liberal Left - which, like the civil - libertarian Right supports such freedoms as speech, press, assembly, religion, emigration, privacy, property, information, due process, independent unionism, and multi - party political options — will recognize the illiberal Left as the vicious enemy it really is. (Susan Sontag calls it "successful fascism . . . Fascism with a human face.")

Perhaps then true liberals and progressives will cease their unseemly search for ways of excusing communism's inherent brutality toward human beings and its rampant imperialism toward nations.

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FEB. 18, 1986

PINE BLUFF COMMERCIAL

Fascist-Left Sandinistas?

Editor, The Commercial:

Why do so many prominent "liberal" journalists, academics and churchmen continue to hold hands with the patently *illiberal* dictatorship in Nicaragua?

Could it be that the language of politics has persuaded these good people that the Soviet-sponsored Sandinistas are something other than *fascists*? After all, the words and image of the so-called "left-right political spectrum" suggest that the ultra-left (communism) and the ultra-right (fascism) are opposites. Left is opposite right, *n'est pas*?

As a result of such nonthink, even Cuba's grisly Fidel Castro is able to parade about as a "progressive," a "liberator" and an exponent of "people's democracy." Never mind that he presides over the most viciously *il-liberal* (i.e. *fascistic*) regime in the hemisphere.

In early 1982, distressed by communist brutality in Poland, the renowned liberal-intellectual Susan Sontag broke free of this left-right nonthink, when she proclaimed: "Not only is fascism (and overt military rule) the probable destiny of all communist societies — especially when their populations are moved to revolt — but communism is itself a variant, the most successful variant, of fascism. Fascism with a human face."

The obvious need now is for all true liberals to follow Miss Sontag's bold lead. They must look behind the semantic masks which hide the true face of the fascist-left in Nicaragua.

Perhaps then they will begin raising their voices of morality and idealism against those who (with massive help from Castro, the Soviets, the PLO, Qaddafi, Khoumeini and other assorted terrorists) have so cynically co-opted and corrupted the democratic Nicaraguan revolution of 1978-79.

Jim Guirard
Washington

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SOVIET NEO-NAZISM

by Jim Guirard

Ed. Note: Mr. Guirard is a consultant in governmental affairs, and a frequent contributor to "Security Affairs".

Columnist Mary McGrory's autumn trip to Moscow has prompted her to write several articles which were, for her, uncharacteristically critical of the Soviet Union.

Possibly the best of these is her September 29 essay, entitled "Refuseniks With Nothing to Lose". In it, Ms. McGrory harshly condemns state-sponsored anti-Semitism in the USSR. She goes so far as to report that persecuted Jews to whom she spoke "all approve of the Reagan hard line" toward the Soviets — an astonishing admission for one of journalism's most unyielding critics of the President's foreign policy.

If such official anti-Semitism as Mary McGrory witnessed in the Soviet Union were afoot in any non-communist country, it would almost automatically be branded "neo-Nazi". But, of course, such sharp-edged labeling is almost reserved for anti-Semitism of the "ultra-right" variety.

Imagine the Soviets' consternation if Mary McGrory turned to such truth-in-labeling in describing their unrelenting repression of Jewish citizens. It might even shock them into suspending such criminality. Not wanting the venerable Mary McGrory to begin promoting among her liberal-intellectual peers the notion that there is such a thing as "Soviet Nazism", they might go as far as to stop treating Jews in the fashion of fascism.

As Ambassador Max Kampelman has often suggested, the Soviets will change their barbaric ways only once it is clearly to their "advantage" to do so. In this case, as long as they can torment and persecute Jews and other minorities and still not be regarded as Hitlerites, it apparently remains to their advantage to continue doing just that.

Of course, if President Reagan were to brand the Soviets "neo-Nazi", the odds are overwhelming that the liberal-intellectuals in the press and in academia would jump down his throat. They would castigate and berate him just as they did when he called the Soviet communism "evil" — and just as they condemned their own compatriot Susan Sontag in 1982 when she charged that communism is nothing but "a variant, the most successful variant, of fascism".

Naturally, the Soviets would find great advantage in such media attacks on the President and, consequently, would find no urgent need to abandon their brutal persecution of Soviet Jews. But if Mary McGrory and other such high-profile liberals were to originate the charge of "neo-Nazism", the consequences to the Soviets would appear most threatening, indeed.

To escape the onus of the dreaded "neo-Nazi" label and, thus, to abort the prospect of an activist brand of liberal anticommunism, they might well find great advantage in changing their viciously illiberal — i.e., fascistic — practices toward the Jews of the Empire.

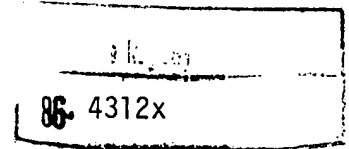
As might be expected, the "charming and charismatic" new Soviet boss, Mikhail Gorbachev, denies that there is any anti-Semitism whatever in his people's paradise —

- just as he denies Soviet imperialism and colonialism in Afghanistan;
- just as he bristles at the charge that there are thousands of political prisoners in his Gulag;
- just as he scoffs at the suggestion that the Soviets have for years been working on a major "Starsky Warsky" program of their own.

Having traveled to Moscow and having taken the time to look beneath all these transparent lies, Mary McGrory has discovered who the Soviets really are. Let us see now if she will travel that one additional step and (like Susan Sontag) call them what they are.

Ironically, if Max Kampelman's analysis is correct, it might be Mary McGrory's unexpected use of the harsh label which finally causes them — in their own self-interest — to begin changing their Nazi-like ways.

JIM GUIRARD, JR.
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS CONSULTANT
SUITE 419
1730 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
(202) 293-3411



September 24, 1986

Mr. William J. Casey
The Director
Central Intelligence
Washington, D. C. 20505

Dear Mr. ~~Casey~~: *MR. Bill:*

I have read with interest and approval the report of your having equated Soviet communism with Nazism.

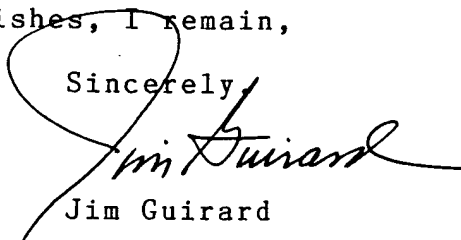
As you will note from the attached op-ed essays of mine, the "moral equivalence" between ultra-left and ultra-right is one of my favorite themes. In them, you may find quotations from scholars and experts of various description, which will help you sustain your argument.

Also attached to this letter are several lapel pins of my own design, each of which features the symbol of a hammer and sycle, an equal sign and a swastika -- as well as verbal representations of related themes.

While some may criticize your remarks as "name-calling," you have all the information and all the rationale needed to sustain it as nothing more nor less than an exercise in truth-in-labeling.

With continued good wishes, I remain,

Sincerely,



Jim Guirard

attachments



Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C.
(703) 482-7676

George V. Lauder
Director, Public Affairs

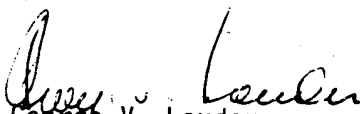
15 October 1986

Mr. Jim Guirard, Jr.
Suite 419
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mr. Guirard:

Director Casey has asked me to thank you
for your letter of 24 September and for the
lapel pins. He appreciates your support.

Sincerely,


George V. Lauder
Director, Public Affairs

DCI/PAO/GVLauder:blg/27676/15 Oct 86

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